

# From “Ribera Plan” to “Diagonal Mar”, passing through 1992 “Vila Olímpica”. How urban renewal took place as urban regeneration in Poblenou district (Barcelona)

Federico Camerin

Early Stage Researcher for the Instituto Universitario de Urbanística, Departamento de Urbanismo y Representación de la Arquitectura, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, Universidad UVA Valladolid, Spain



## ARTICLE INFO

### Keywords:

Urban transformation  
Real estate development  
Large property  
Abandonment  
Barcelona

## ABSTRACT

The paper aimed at analyzing the Poblenou district evolution after the 1970s–1980s due to postindustrial development in Barcelona, especially its regeneration by some large urban projects such as Vila Olímpica (1986–1992) and Diagonal Mar district (1990–2004). As to address this analysis, the methodology used is the following. Starting from a desk research analysis on the Poblenou’s urban transformation process and a fieldwork by the Author, this study analyzes the different Poblenou’s process of spatial production by three key moments. These moments are materialization, emptying/dismantling, and regeneration of large industrial and railway properties understood as a “capital in land” strictly linked to real estate development.

This work demonstrated that the last 20<sup>th</sup> century decades growing tendency of neoliberal urbanism has been legitimized by public administrations so as to let private actors search for urban rent benefits despite belonging to different political contexts. Additionally, the research shows how Poblenou’s industrial urban environment has been manipulated as a tool which led to the global homogenization of the urban landscape, the destruction of the historical legacy, and the dramatic change of socio-economic structure. Regardless of the fact that the urban renewal project “Ribera Plan” did not take place in the 1970s, following the real-estate market purposes a similar intervention was developed twenty years later taking advantage of the 1992 Olympic Games.

«Strolling (from Glories following the Diagonal and the Waterfront), I have the perception that the Catalan Manchester is transforming in the Barcelonian New York. Where before there were horizontal factories of exposed brick walls, now there are numerous skyscrapers with predominantly glass and steel».<sup>1</sup>

Bonadona Marçal, architect and photographer, *Poblenou’s hotels*, a look at the stars, local journal “El Poblenou”, July 2012, page 11.

## 1. Introduction

The paper aims to understand what happened in Barcelona’s Poblenou neighborhood based on the process of historical evolution of large industrial and railway properties. In fact, as a starting point, this study takes into consideration the “large property” as it expresses itself by developing an “urban rent”, and its condition of “capital in land”. This means that a “large property” does not act only as the support

making possible the location-development of a certain activity, such as industrial, railway, military, and market, but also as a “bargaining chip” to undertake other types of operations, such as the redevelopments needed by the capital accumulation process.

This work approached the comprehension of the evolution of Western European globalized city referring to the specific case of Poblenou’s historical evolution starting from its production-reproduction over the decades. This approach constitutes one of the most outstanding achievements of the paper in order to explain the “capitalist city” (Rossi, 2010). The city-making process has clearly an historical approach which helps to understand the way industrial and railway “large properties of urban land” have been used for the capitalist’s purpose over the time. The work focused on understanding the city, specifically Poblenou neighborhood, as a product whose historical making process also implies its dismantling, abandonment, and ruin.

The paper demonstrated both how “large properties of urban land”

E-mail address: [federico.camerin@uva.es](mailto:federico.camerin@uva.es).

<sup>1</sup> Original version in Catalan language: «Fent un passeig (des de Glòries tot resseguint la Diagonal i el Front Marítim), tinc la percepció que el Manchester català s’està transformant en el Nova York barceloní. On abans hi havia fàbriques horitzontals de murs de maó vist, ara hi abunden gratacels on predomina el vidre i l’acer». Title of the article: *Hotels del Poblenou, una mirada cap a les estrelles*.

have been treated by capitalist mode of production and their role in the city-making process. In fact, the analysis demonstrates that processes of materialization, abandonment, and regeneration in Poblenou mostly responded to capital demands. This approach resulted in progressively destruction of the past legacy and social urban framework towards the creation of the global city using the path developed by 1970s urban renewal project (Álvarez Mora and Camerin, 2019). Despite this dynamic, large public spaces have been created within Poblenou, such as the beaches and urban parks (i.e., Poblenou's Central Park).

## 2. Theory

As of the 1970s and 1980s globalization process gradually took place regarding the growing international flows and linking of finances, economics, and communication (Brenner, 1998 and 1999). This new situation led to a change of standards in competition for location among metropolises and metropolitan regions within Europe (Budd, 1998; OECD Territorial Reviews, 2006a), and within world cities (Low, 1995; Ewers, 2007).

The repercussions on the cities have been explained by several publications, among them stand out those of Friedmann (1986); Sassen (1991), and Castells (1996) respectively concerning the concepts of “world city hierarchy”, “global cities”, and “space of flows”. However, the so-called “world cities” and its definition was already recognized by Patrick Geddes in “Cities in evolution” (Geddes, 1915) and by Peter Hall in the book entitled “The world cities” (1966). From this perspective, the contemporary city is viewed as a spatial materialization of the core social processes associated with the capitalist mode of production, including capital accumulation and class struggle. According to this, other recent studies, such as McNeill (2017), point out that the globalization of urban development has generated powerful expression in the built environment in which significant dimensions of modern capitalism are materialized, reproduced, and contested.

As pointed out by Stein (2019: 4) this trend is enforced by “the growing centrality of urban real estate to capital's global growth strategy”, so “the price of land becomes a central economic determinate and a dominant political issue”. Within the urban environment, constant capitalism search for profitability (Katz, 2001) leads to new and speculative real estate booms, such as new office towers and high-end residential building in connection with infrastructural, cultural, and entertainment spaces. Plus, the “urban entrepreneurialism” (Harvey, 1989; Patterson, 2012) entrusts stararchitects (Ponzini and Nastasi, 2011) the task of implementing large urban projects for global consumption (Zukin, 1998) and its success (Skclair, 2017), yet far from the reality of the local context and the real needs of the city as a whole. This situation may also generate significant shifts within local housing markets as developers attempt to transform once devalored properties into residential space for the elites to establish within the city (Lees, Philips, 2018). Consequently, gentrification takes place in former working-class neighborhoods and deindustrialized areas. This dynamic can cause substantial residential and employment displacement may in the wake of rising rents and housing costs (Brenner and Keil, 2017: 74–75).

In this frame, urban planning has a significant impact on both capitalists and workers in an urban environment (Rogers, 2016). Plus, this discipline is tasked with the contradictory goals of rising real estate values while sheltering citizens' best interests. Actually, planning has to do with profitability logic imposed by the market and the idea of providing the “right to the city” (Harvey, 2003). Even if urban planning carries out a public function, the truth is that capitalist cities are mostly at the mercy of the market. This contradiction can be seen in the construction process of the areas of new centrality in capitalist cities, boosted since the urban renewal projects after the WWII (Grebler, 1962), following by those implemented in the frame of urban regeneration process starting from late 1970 (Couch et al., 2003) in order to create areas of new centrality (Author/Authors, 2019). Among the

areas of new centrality in the Western European cities, there are several examples, well recognized by Morandi (2003). Among others, the case of the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona refers to the creation of areas of new centrality. Plus, as far as the reorganization of the “areas of centrality” at the metropolitan scale, a well-known case is the 1983 Plan Programme de l'Est de Paris (Apur, 1987). As regards the densification and extension of the centrality, a remarkable operation is Canary Warf, which was included in the more extensive urban transformation of London's Docks (Church, 1988).

The global economic and financial interests manage the “production of the built environment” (Harvey, 1985) and decompose the city intended as a collective entity, to create new space of consumption and segregation. The spatial manifestation of this trend is the creation of the areas of new centrality in the frame of the urban renewal and regeneration. These processes take place usually when land's low profitability exists to create new rental spaces on the dispossession of the existing built environment elements which ceased to be useful for the capital's interests. For instance, the cases of industrial, railway, and military installations located in cheap land near the city centre are suitable for these kind of operations. As pointed out by Álvarez Mora and Camerin (2019), urban renewal and regeneration projects take place for rent needs and impose the emptying and dismantling of the previous built environment for imposing an order agreeing with the logic of the capital accumulation.

The low profitability, assigned to the built environment which will be consequently dismantled and abandoned, is part of a process linked to other ways of understanding the “real estate development” (Charney, 2012). In this sense, the production of the built environment not only manifests itself in those situations proceeded from the dismantling strategy of the existing urban environment and activities. Effectively, to set up a similar practice, specific real estate agents' mission is to empty the contents of the existing buildings to be afterwards removed or re-used (Edwards et al., 2009). Above all, the capital requires the historic built elements to realize new urban transformations, which are less and less related to human needs and more and more driven by the private's interests, usually those of the so-called “builder-developers” (Pacione, 1991: 162–163; Beauregard, 1994).

Recently, in Western European countries, but also at global level, several projects of urban regeneration used different strategies and opportunities aimed at “urban renaissance” by creating areas of new centrality (Porter, Shaw, 2009): i.g., creative cities (Evans, 2009); culture-led (Gainza, 2016); iconic megaprojects (del Cerro Santamaría, 2013; Nagel, Satoh, 2019), mega-events (Boycoff, 2014); Disneyfication (Choi, 2011), tertiarisation (Grubbauer, 2014), etc and so on. Among them, the attention of this study is focused on the case of Barcelona intended as a “global city” (Illas, 2012), specifically Poblenou neighborhood's urban transformation.

## 3. Methodology and material

The methodological starting point is the analysis of the Poblenou based on the historical evolution process of large industrial and railway properties. From this point of view, based on the assumption that Barcelona is embedded within the circuit of world cities (Illas, 2012), the study highlights a series of historical phases as they express themselves through a specific spatial component.

In Poblenou's area, the accumulation effect created by the spatial juxtaposition of a series of dynamics ends in an explanation of the city-making process in its close connection with industrial and railway's “large properties of urban land”. In this sense, this study considers three moments characterizing the evolution of the large industrial and railway properties as phases being defined by three different ways to reveal and understand the city-making process starting from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. They are construction (5.1), dismantling and abandonment (5.2), and regeneration (5.3). Plus, these moments are strictly related to the urban transformations brought about by rent demand,

that is to say, by the involved properties' demanded benefits. Besides, the analysis points out that these three processes have been happening in the same space to juxtapose and recreate rental values whose quality and quantity did not cease to stop increasing over the time.

This study was carried out from the point of view of urban planning. As stated in the introduction, the analysis assumes that even a good urban planning served the capitalist interest, a system dispossessing people who cannot pay. A desk research activity supports the methodology in order to analyze the existing international literature on the urban renewal and regeneration projects of Poblenou and Barcelona's urban planning tools starting from the 1859 Cerda's Extension. Plus, a field visit in Poblenou neighborhood in 2018 and 2019 strengthens the latter.

First, the study reports the original construction process affecting a specific urban area; in this case, Barcelona's Poblenou neighborhood (paragraph 5.1, *The materialization of the "Catalan Manchester"*). Here, the so-called "production of the built environment" regards the realization of industrial and railway installations in Poblenou, many of them located in peripheral urban contexts during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this case, the "production of the built environment" regards the spatial manifestation of a landowner capital since all these industrial activities require a great amount of land to develop their specific production processes. This phase of Poblenou's city-making process is characterized by the gradual consolidation and development of a new urban space dedicated to industrial and railway uses.

Second, the study tackles the particular historical moment

characterized by the dismantling and abandonment, and even ruin, of the industrial and railway installations to force a new use aiming to obtain a profit. Here Poblenou sees a gradual decline for reasons relating to the low profitability made by certain type of activity, i.g. the large industrial and railway property. In this section (paragraph 5.2 *Renewing Poblenou: the dismantling process of the historical industrial and railway facilities and the urban renewal project "Ribera Plan"*), the study refers to the case of the "Ribera Urban Development Plan", or "Ribera Plan", which approach will be put into operation to develop the 1986–1992 Olympic Village two decades later.

Eventually, as a final colophon to the described process, went through the long way leading to the dismantling, abandonment, and ruin of the industrial and railway built elements, this study analyzes the "urban regeneration" phase (paragraph 5.3 *Poblenou to regenerate: Vila Olímpica and Diagonal Mar's urban transformations*). Specifically, here two study cases of urban regeneration, the Vila Olímpica and Diagonal Mar projects based in former industrial and railway properties of urban land, are analyzed to understand how urban regeneration took place in Poblenou neighborhood.

To sum up, the work uses this methodology to demonstrate that, over the time, capitalism made effective the class appropriation of the (new) central zones of the Poblenou in a great amount of industrial and railway land. Moreover, this study shows how the approach of the Ribera Plan's urban renewal resulted in urban regeneration projects which met the expectations of the real-estate developers than those of Barcelona's citizens, even though some public spaces were materialized.

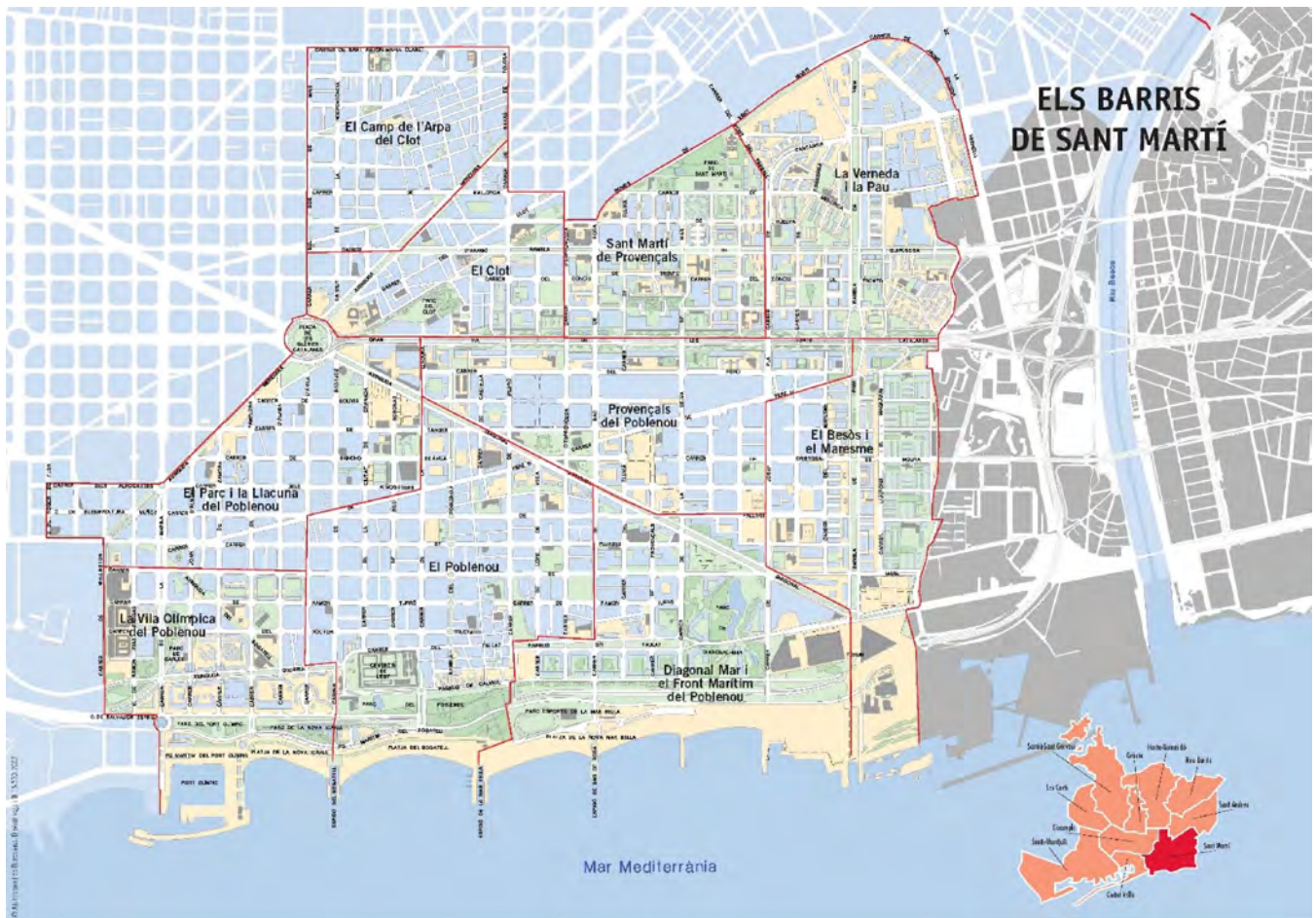


Fig. 1. Map of the Sant Martí district.

Source: <http://www.bcn.cat/publicacions/Cartografia/santmartiBarris.pdf>.

**Table 1**

Poblenou's surface, population, and population density.

Source: Federico Camerin's elaboration (2019) starting from <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/santmarti/es>.

Neighborhood	Surface (ha)	Population (inhab)	Population density (inhab/ha)
La Vila Olímpica del Poblenou	94.30	9,346	99
El Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou	111.40	14,861	136
Provençals del Poblenou	110.50	20,516	185
El Poblenou	154.50	33,621	219
Diagonal Mar i el Front Marítim del Poblenou	123.70	13,455	110

#### 4. The case study

Nowadays, Poblenou comprises five neighborhoods belonging to Sant Martí district located in the northeastern part of Barcelona (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005) and is recognized as a fundamental pillar of Catalan and Spanish industrialization. Poblenou (a Catalan word meaning “new village”) was part of the stand-alone municipality of Sant Martí de Provençals until 1897 when, together with the rest of the neighborhoods around the city, such as Gràcia, Les Corts, Sants, Sant Andreu, and Sant Gervasi, it was annexed to the municipality of Barcelona.

Today, Sant Martí district is made up of ten neighborhoods, being the fourth largest district of the city in extension and the second in population. In the paper, the interest is related to Poblenou, which is set up by the following neighborhoods (see Fig. 1): “El Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou”, “La Vila Olímpica del Poblenou”, “El Poblenou”, “Diagonal Mar i el Front Marítim del Poblenou” and “Provençals del Poblenou”, for a total population of 91,799 inhabitants and 594.4 ha of surface (see Table 1). For socio-economic characteristics see respectively (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2018e).

#### 5. Results

##### 5.1. The materialization of the “Catalan Manchester”

Here, the study analyzes Poblenou neighborhood in its beginning, that is to say the origin of the “Catalan Manchester”. The first references to Sant Martí de Provençals dated from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century AD when a large ditch was built with the aim of bringing the water of the Besòs River to Barcelona. This ditch allowed the transformation of Sant Martí de Provençals from a submerged, swampy, and insalubrious zone due to the presence of the Besòs river delta to use for grazing and agriculture. In its surroundings, the parcels of the field took place to be oriented according to its trace.

The agricultural character of the zone began to change progressively starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the land reorganization outside the Levant part of Barcelona's ancient wall, the relocation of the “unwanted” activities located within the ancient city began in Sant Martí de Provençals. Here, in 1715 an artillery training camp was founded, in 1724 the Town Council set up a quarantine house, and in 1775 the first general cemetery of Barcelona was built. Around these installations, a nucleus of activities was gradually appearing, although maintaining a rural character.

In this period the so-called “France (or Mataró) highway”, nowadays Pere IV street, was built located at an elevated level, also crossing the fields to avoid the praised lands which would finish drying up during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The construction of this road was the first step to the occupation of the Eastern out-of-the city wall. It facilitated both the connection to the city of Mataró, and the materialization of the so-called “Els Prats d'indianes” (fields where fabrics were boiled, bleached, and dried) due to the presence of extensive flat land and an abundance of water. Hence, the textile industry was still on its early days as some industrialists started buying property here. This dynamic implied a high demand for workers, attracting people from other Spanish regions who moved to Barcelona to be employed in these factories.

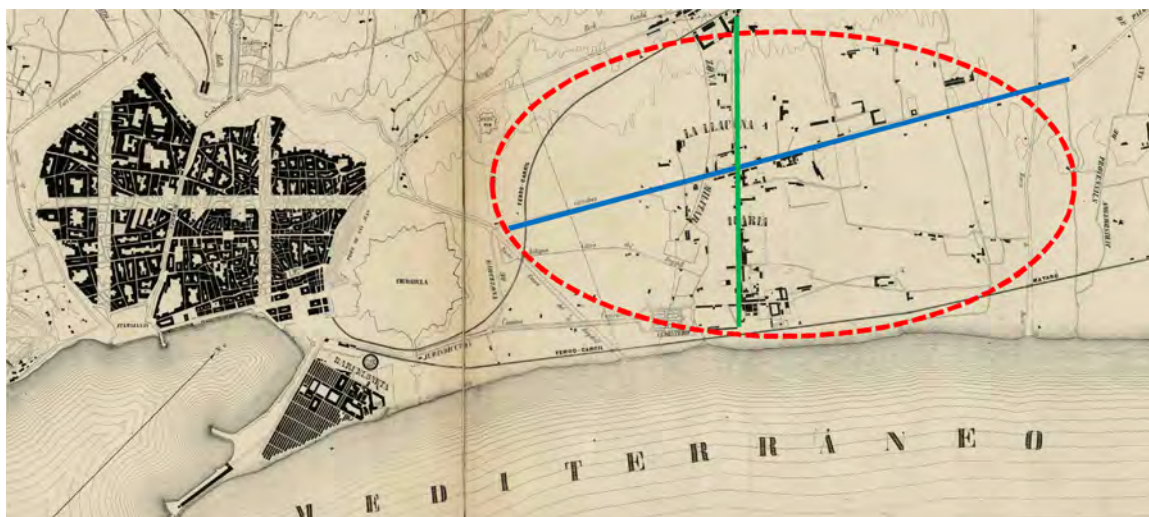
Poblenou played a central role during the Industrial Revolution: it started officially in 1848 by the first Spanish Barcelona-to-Mataró railway opening from crossing the area along its coastline. This neighborhood gradually became the cornerstone of not only Catalan but also Iberian industry, particularly in the textile sector, which earned the nickname “Catalan Manchester”, even for the labour movement of its population. In fact, several protests arose starting from the 1850s due to the living and working conditions. The majority of the houses built around the factories were very humble and with poor hygienic conditions. Plus, the working conditions were also mediocre as workers had long working days, low salaries, insufficient food, lack of hygiene, so illnesses and disabilities set in.

Starting in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, textile factories spread around the main streets, such as Pere IV and Maria Aguiló (see Fig. 2), causing a parallel demographic increase. The railway encouraged the industrial character of the settlement, marginalizing it despite its proximity to the historic centre. This development was stimulated by the following factors: the easy obtention of water for the industrial process; the presence of extensive, cheap, and not yet occupied land; the peripheral condition and isolation outside the city walls; the great accessibility due to the Mataró highway; and the proximity to Barcelona's harbour. Between 1861 and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the textile production continued to expand and branched out to further industries, such as “Can Ricart”, “Torre de les Aigües”, the “Martin & Rossi”, also due to the implementation of the tram system (1880–1899). In fact, the census of the factories recorded an increase from 57 to 243 between 1855 and 1888 (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2006). The industrial boom continued during the entire first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the textile industry was soon flanked by the development of other sectors as well as the car industry, chemical, metallurgical, and food and wine sectors (Tatjer, 2006).

In parallel, two factors have strongly influenced Poblenou's evolution.

First, this zone became the scene of both civic discontentment supported by political and union activity, and hard times with a succession of strikes and attempts (Dalmau, 2015). For instance, this neighborhood suffered a revolutionary outbreak happening in Barcelona during the period known as “Tragic Week” (1909), in which religious buildings and a police station were burned. Moreover, in 1931, during the Second Spanish Republic, Poblenou was a Republican and anarchist neighborhood. The anarchist labor union “National Confederation of Labour” (in Spanish known as “CNT”, *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*) gained importance in the factories and workshops. As a matter of fact, when the Civil War started in 1936, revolutionist episodes took place. Moreover, Poblenou became a zone of war factories, with an abundance of the metallurgic industry.

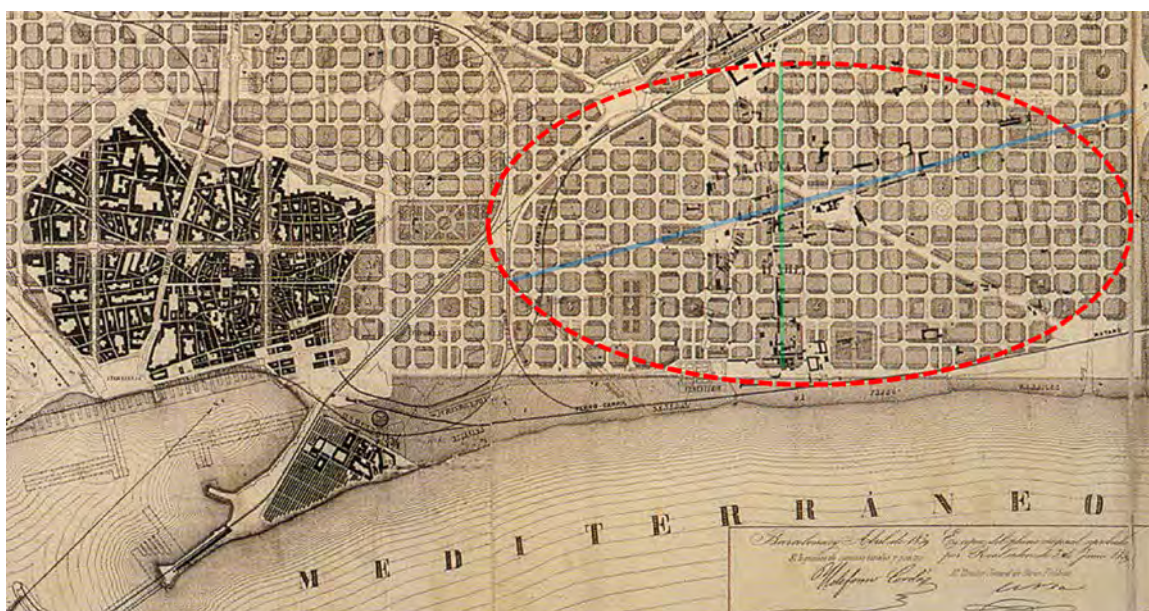
Second, and more important under the city planning point of view, the gradual realization of Cerda's city Extension Plan (see Fig. 3) took place after the inclusion of Sant Martí into Barcelona in 1897 (Aibar and Bijker, 1997). The land structure, which originally organized Poblenou, was characterized by an irregular agricultural parceling, and the main roads where constructions were built were Pere IV and Maria Aguiló streets. In fact, the built environment took place according to this land subdivision. Thus, as of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the morphology of these two streets could be found entirely consolidated in



**Fig. 2.** Extract of Cerdà's Topographic Plan of Barcelona, 1855. The red circle corresponds to Poblenou's zone. In blue Pere IV street and in green Maria Aguiló street. Source: F. Camerin's elaboration starting from [Cerdà \(1855\)](#). (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article).

function of the increasing number of the surrounding industrial buildings and workers' housing. The irregular urban texture was in contradiction with the orthogonal, repetitive, and homogeneous structure of the Barcelona Extension Plan proposed by Ildefons Cerdà in 1859. This Plan attempted the elimination of the roads incoherent with the new urban structure, such as Pere IV street. After the political conflict characterizing the approval and application of Cerdà Plan at that time ([Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, 1996: 18](#)), the municipality of Sant Martí de Provençals was incorporated into Barcelona in 1897. Nevertheless, when the grid-shaped structure became a priority, irregular and small

Poblenou's urban fabric was already well established and, besides, it was out of the proper urban planning's measures. Some of the buildings were built taking into account Cerdà's Plan, but most of them were realized according to the old agricultural and urban scene. In this way, this dynamic took place in the factories settled on Pere IV street and nearby area. During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the buildings that took into account the Extension were adjusted to it only in the limit of the streets. These limits were oriented according to the agricultural plot, perpendicular to Pere IV and Maria Aguiló. Eventually, the buildings were built according to both plots. This is the reason for the



**Fig. 3.** Extract of Cerdà's Barcelona Extension plan, 1859. The red circle corresponds to Poblenou's zone. In light blue Pere IV street (which in Cerdà's Plan should have to disappear) and in light green Maria Aguiló street. Source: F. Camerin's elaboration starting from [Cerdà \(1859b\)](#). (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article).

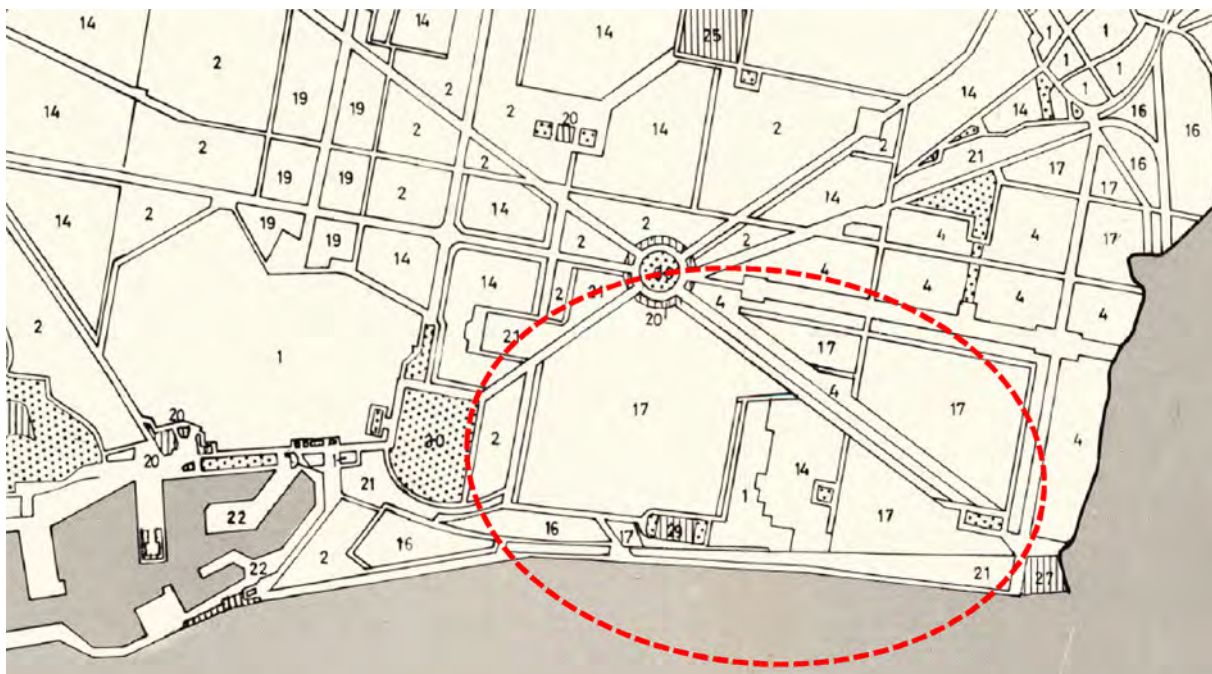


Fig. 4. Extract of the 1953 Sub-regional Plan, where Poblenu neighborhood's land use is mostly "industrial zone" (in red). (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article).

Transcript of the land use legend: n. 1 Historic centre, n. 4 intensive urban housing, n. 14 housing and industry coexistence, 16 great industries, n. 17 medium industries, n. 21 railways, and n. 29 cemetery. Source: F. Camerin's elaboration starting from Teixidor, Tarragó, Brau, 1973, p. 73–75.

current complex, irregular, and small Poblenu's parceling.

In summary, in this phase, the Catalan Manchester's territory has been marked by different political, economic, and social interests reflected in its morphology, with the superposition of two very different frames supported by the Barcelona-Mataró railway. Actually, the urban interventions were punctual and limited to the opening of streets that were delimited by both the factories and the blocks of housing. In fact, the urban landscape was formed by a coexistence of the facilities and laboratories of medium and small size industrial companies, in addition to the workers' housing. As a consequence, the neighborhood's urban structure was the result of a continuous expansion and territorial densification. Hence, Poblenu was characterized by the appearance of a scarcely vertebrate urban plot due to the juxtaposition of a series of disconnected initiatives that just proposed to solve the particular problems of owners or companies individually (Grau and López, 1973; Arxiu Històric del Poblenu, 2001).

#### 5.2. Renewing Poblenu: the dismantling process of the historical industrial and railway facilities and the urban renewal project "Ribera Plan"

In the 1953 Sub-regional Plan (*Plan Comarcal*) Poblenu was classified as an "industrial zone" (see Fig. 4). Nevertheless, three reasons influenced the industrial abandonment and dismantling. This area gradually lost its peripheral character, becoming a "central space" ready to be filled with speculative real estate developments.

First, in the mid-1960s during Franco's regime, the factories reorganization started within the city. On 17 July 1965 the statal Law n. 102 (*Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1965*) established the creation of an extensive industrial zone in the soil of the duty-free zone, the so-called "Zona Franca", in the southwestern part of the city. This Law actively incited the industries' abandonment from historical and emblematic zones, such as Poblenu and La Sagrera, which have been Catalonia's industrial heart for many decades (Nadal and Tafunell, 1992: 242). Second, the following year, the mayoral service of José María de Porcioles, the so-called "porciolismo" from 1957 to 1973

(Alibes et al., 1975; Aricó et al., 2016), started the process to put into operation the so-called "*Plan de la Ribera*"<sup>2</sup>. The architect Antoni Bonet Castellana elaborated the proposal to redevelop the land owned by large industries and Railway Company. Third, another aspect to take into account is the importance of the industrial restructuring's mode of production at the global level and the change of the economic paradigms towards a flexible mode of production. Besides, the development of the modern highways and the changes in the port transport systems gave an advantage to both the relocation of factories and the industrial storage and distribution located within the city towards the new industrial parks.

These three factors led to the tertiarization of Barcelona's economy (Tello et al., 2000; Alberich González et al., 2014) and the consequent, also inevitable, transformation of the urban space. Now, the study takes into account the second of these factors, analyzing how it influenced the next Poblenu's urban transformations.

In March 1966 the Ribera SA limited company was created in order to develop the "Ribera Plan", also named "Modification Project of the Sub-regional Plan of Barcelona affecting the Eastern Maritime Sector". This plan affected a rectangular territory of approximately 225 Ha (6 km long by 500 m wide) of the Eastern coastal front of Barcelona. Afterwards, when in February 1968 a new step of the Plan (*Avance de Plan de la Ribera*) was approved by the City Council, the society enlarged itself to most of the large industrial companies located in the Poblenu's Eastern Maritime Sector (Catalana de Gas y Electricidad SA

<sup>2</sup> Officially named "*Plan Parcial de Ordenación Urbana de la Ribera de Barcelona*". As demonstrated by Teixidor et al. (1972), in many cases the Urban Development Plan constituted a suitable tool for landowners to carry out land speculation. Urban Development Plans have not served to develop and specify the Sub-regional Plan, being against the legal urban planning framework. Nevertheless, Urban Development Plans contributed to legalize situations of illegal building development and other types of urban development issues, especially to increase the buildings' volume.



Fig. 5. The Ribera Plan, 1971.

Source: [https://lub.upc.edu/web/Arxiu/Projectes/plan\\_la\\_ribera/ribera\\_select/PR01.pdf](https://lub.upc.edu/web/Arxiu/Projectes/plan_la_ribera/ribera_select/PR01.pdf).

–today Naturgy–, Crédito y Docks de Barcelona SA, Foret SA, Hidroeléctrica de Catalunya SA, Hijo de E. F. Escofet SA, Jorge Whal Hirschman, Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima SA, Martini & Rossi SA, Material y Construcciones SA –Macosa–, and Motor Ibérica SA); the Spanish Railway Company “Renfe” (Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles); and local bank entities (Banco Industrial de Cataluña S.A., Unión Industrial Bancaria SA, Banco Urquijo SA, Caja de Ahorros Provincial de la Diputación de Barcelona, Caja de Pensiones para la Vejez y de Ahorros, Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad).

Under the 1965 motto “a city which can’t keep living with its back to the sea” (Duran i Farrell, 1965), the proposal represented the interests of the capital against the local public interests, namely the popular classes and industrial employees. In other words, this urban renewal project would have benefited the speculators, namely Barcelona’s bourgeois and the industrial and railway landowners. Actually, 60Ha and 40Ha belonged respectively to the industries and the Spanish railway company “Renfe”. Essentially, the plan was presented as an attempt to put into operation a public general interest, i.g. the “urban renewal” of the neighborhood, as specific bourgeoisie’s interest aiming at the displacement of the working class and the obtaining of surplus value by the land use change. The project was assumed as an exclusive, elitist, and fragmented idea to expand Cerdà’s Extension without paying attention to the existing urban, social, and economic fabrics. As Andreu et al. (2011): 53) claimed, the goal of the Plan was to take advantage of the fact that “companies [...] occupied large tracts of land in this area near the sea. They and other businesses in the neighborhood knew that sooner or later they would have to leave that prime position, then occupied by railway tracks, shanties, and industries with an uncertain future”. The proposal was well accepted by the City Council when the project was broadly presented in July 1966. As reported in the national newspaper *La Vanguardia Española* (1966: 25), from “this daring and intelligent urban design depends the transformation of a large sector of the city, and probably of Barcelona as a whole, in order to sort the city out from the effects of the asphyxia undergone by the current approach to railway installations and the dedication of much of the coastline to dreary industrial applications”. Eventually, in February 1971 the land occupied by large industrial and railway properties was definitely proposed to be redeveloped into intensive and luxurious housing and commercial use to generate the maximum capital gains (see Fig. 5).

Actually, an increment of 150,000 inhabitants was expected along the Eastern seafont. Meanwhile the public sector, the City Council, was encharged to build the new infrastructure system. In this framework, the fact that the Ribera SA was founded mostly by industrial companies located in Poblenou and Renfe, without forgetting the implication of the financial capital, such as the banks, created a high expectation in terms of the surplus value of the land they owned at the expense of the public sector, as claimed by Solà-Morales, et al. (1974). Afterwards, following an intense intellectual and social debate within the city, around 9000 objections were collected in order the Eastern Maritime

Sector Plan not to take place. Moreover, in 1971 a number of local associations (among them architects, inhabitants, and trade union institutions) fostered an ideas competition as an alternative to the approved urban planning tool to carry out in strict relation to the needs of the current population, i.g. the working class. The contest was won by a team coordinated by Manuel de Solà-Morales (de Solà-Morales et al., 1974) and, eventually, the Ribera Plan was not put into operation due to the adverse economic situation for new real estate developments (Calvaresi, 1990: 14), plus the political and social disagreement with the proposal.

After the end of Franco’s regime, the 1976 Metropolitan Master Plan defined the area between the railways and the beach as “urban renewal zone”, and confirmed Poblenou as a prevalent “industrial neighborhood”. Plus, Barcelona’s candidacy for the 1992 Olympics contributed to arise the Ribera Plan’s principles again. The basic condition of its realization was actually the fact that the Eastern Maritime Sector Plan was not implemented during the 1970s. This situation of uncertainty, which was previously provoked by Ribera Plan, fostered the idea of provisionality among the industrial companies located in Poblenou. At the same time, the uncertainty has gradually increased the deterioration and marginalization of this industrial zone. As a matter of fact, the industries, also those ones directly involved in the Ribera Plan, such as “Motor Ibérica” and “Foret” in Zona Franca, suffered from relocation in areas far away from the city. Subsequently, the industrial production came to a halt, as the case of “Maquinista”. Consequently, Poblenou suffered from a progressive abandonment to such an extent that the occasion of regenerating the neighborhood within the frame of the 1992 Olympic Games implied the disappearance of the dissenting voices. With the help of a democratic City Council, in the mid-1980s a new great urban project was planned in a part of the ancient Ribera Plan. During Franco’s regime, this plan tried to put into operation the industrial and railways landowners’ benefits without concern of the existing physical, social, and economic context: two decades later, eventually, Ribera Plan started to be realized.

Actually, new elitist and segregated spaces were planned with the aim to substitute the abandoned and decaying large industrial and railway properties. The end of the 1980s saw the disappearance of Barcelona-Matarò railway and the Bogatell’s and Poblenou’s stations, built respectively in 1903 and 1907. The railway was always used and never underused or abandoned before the date, as well as their complex facilities and nearby industries, which were definitely dismantled. In their place, a number of new great urban projects have been gradually materializing in the last thirty years. Among them, Vila Olímpica (1986–1992) and Diagonal Mar district (1990–2004) can be considered the most emblematic projects. They were based on new infrastructural services and equipment financed by the public sector, such as the *Ronda Litoral* highway (1990), the beaches from Barceloneta to Besòs river’s estuary (1992), and the opening of Diagonal Avenue to the sea (in February 1999).

### 5.3. Poblenuou to regenerate: Vila Olímpica's and Diagonal Mar's urban transformations

This subparagraph analyzes two case studies as they represent the most important urban transformations in the Poblenuou zone from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 2000s. They are “Vila Olímpica” and “Diagonal Mar”, which finally materialize the long-standing and unrealized urban planning strategy dating from the Ribera Plan during Porciolismo's Epoque. The latter was rejected by Barcelona's citizens as it was understood as a real urban development threat. Both new urban projects can be identified as the initial symptom of dispossession of the city from the previous inhabitants and urban environment, also understood as crucial moments of the so-called 1973–2004 “Model Barcelona” (Delgado, 2007; Montaner et al., 2011a).

As regards Vila Olímpica, Nova Icària's area in Poblenuou was chosen to accommodate Olympic athletes in the frame of the Olympic Games (Ciciotti et al., 1992), whose development was managed by MBM Arquitectes plus Albert Puigdomènech (Martorell and Bohigas, 1988; Bohigas et al., 1992:11). This zone was considered a proper urban void to be redeveloped as a “new centrality area” of the city (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1987), being a place to be regenerated into the “first modern neighborhood by the sea”. The main influencing factors of its degradation-regeneration process proceeding from historical reasons: firstly, the weak fiscal controls and, secondly, an arbitrary land occupation by the industrial business landowners. In the 1980s Nova Icària's urban morphology, built over more than 100 years, was characterized by the bad condition of the buildings; the proliferation of self-built homes; the absence of an efficient infrastructure network; the coexistence of housing and uses declared incompatible with the residential one (for example military barracks, jail, slaughterhouse, sewage treatment plant, cemetery, cultivation areas, and factories); and the relatively low cost of land. Nevertheless, it has to be said that all these characteristics enabled the consolidation of a working-class neighborhood over time. Moreover, the excellent accessibility of the area, located within reach of two railways lines tracks with a low population density due to its gradual decrease starting in the late 1960s, would have led to a very profitable capitalist exploitation, intended in the Ribera Plan's intention. Consequently, on 26 July 1986, just before Barcelona was chosen as the host city of the 1992 Olympics, the “Urban Development Special Plan from Barcelona seafront to Carles I promenade-Icària Avenue's sector” was approved (Bohigas et al., 1986)<sup>3</sup>.

In order for the Olympic Village (Vila Olímpica) to be developed, two societies were created. First, the City Council's private company VOSA (Vila Olímpica SA) was set up in 1986 to manage the Urban Development Plan and to expropriate the land to become a City Council's property. Second, the anonymous society NISA (Nova Icària SA) was created to take care of the architectural projects. The whole regeneration project involved 130Ha, 46.7 of which were occupied by the Olympic Village, and 5.2km of new beach. VOSA occupied 56.818 m<sup>2</sup> of empty properties and expropriated 58.000 m<sup>2</sup> of soil (totally 147 housing and 147 industries and retails<sup>4</sup>), without taking into account or assessing any pre-existing element (Fig. 7). Only “Can Folch” factory's chimney was preserved, but totally decontextualized (Figs. 8 and 9). This operation meant the loss of an interesting industrial architecture heritage and its daily life, well documented respectively in

<sup>3</sup> The “Special Plan”, *Plan especial*, was introduced by the 1983 Spanish Land Law as a different planning instrument respect to *Plan Parcial* with speedy implementation and without the requirement of an analysis of the historic urban fabric.

<sup>4</sup> Such as “Tallers Ferroviaris del Poblenuou”, “El Progreso” flour mill, “Pau Soler” family's wine storage company, and “Titan” paint factory. Some of them were owned by former components of Ribera SA, such as “Rocamora” factory for Motor Ibérica SA and “Crédito y Docks” warehouse.

Arranz et al. (1988), in the anthropological work carried out by Doncel (1988), as well as the photographer Martí Llorens (2013, also in Fig. 6) during both the process of destruction and transformation.

After the industrial dismantling and the underground stretch of coastal railroad, Nova Icària saw the construction of 1834 unaffordable housing for middle and high-class families; 180 commercial stores; two tertiary skyscrapers both 153 m-high (Arts Hotel and Mapfre Tower, the symbols of the Olympics, accompanied by the Frank Gehry's steel fish sculpture); a new port; and 3500 parking spaces. Even if 25% of Vila Olímpica's housing was initially conceived for social housing purpose (Juliana, 1990; Casellas, 2016: 63 Navas Perrone, 2017: 94), then the price established in 1990 for selling was 203,000 pesetas/m<sup>2</sup>, almost 2660 euros/m<sup>2</sup>. Eventually, housing were sold between May 1990 and August 1996.

The conversion of industrial land into high-standard residential buildings, new leisure and commercial activities ended Poblenuou degeneration as an intent to reinterpret Cerda's plot (Costa, 2004: 44–49; 54–59). Even if the improvements in the area were remarkable, such as the realization of a 2-kilometre urban park in Poblenuou's waterfront alongside Litoral Avenue by Manuel Ruisánchez Capelastegui and Xavier Vendrell Sala architects (Fabris, 1999: 45–47), the urban regeneration rose many critical voices in the local context of Barcelona. In fact, Vila Olímpica was seen as the first symptom of neoliberal urbanism which led to the crisis of the Model Barcelona. Among others, different academics refer on the way the project was carried out through the complete demolition of the old Icària neighborhood (Tejero and Encinas, 1997; Caballé, 2010; Muxí et al., 2011; Fossas and Luque, 2015). The economic and social consequences in the Poblenuou's urban environment, and also within the city, were the manifestation of the great urban project of neoliberal urbanism into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In fact was, Vila Olímpica was mostly based on the disappearance of industrial heritage, the privatization of public space, the lack of public housing and equipments, and, in general, the loss of urban heterogeneity.

Following the pattern of Vila Olímpica's project, the extension of Diagonal Avenue to the sea at the end of the 1990s (Padilla Llano, 2016) opened the door to the next step of the Barcelona Model (Montaner, 2011b). Afterwards, during the 2000s the regeneration of substantial sectors of Central and Eastern Poblenuou proceeded by the impulse of the 2000 22@ district (Marrero, 2003), and the 2004 world event “Universal Forum of Cultures” (Clusa, 1999).

One of the great urban projects implemented at the end of Diagonal Avenue was the new “Diagonal Mar” district. Its development was planned during the 1990s and surely influenced the next tertiarization of Diagonal Avenue and Eastern seafront in the frame of 2000 22@ Plan and 2004 Forum. Essentially, the project rose up in 1990 by the creation of the specific real-estate company “Diagonal Mar” by an agreement between the industrial property (“Macosa SA”, a former company included in Ribera SA strictly related to industrial supplies for rail and construction, which went out of business in 1994) and the Spanish subsidiary of the North American insurer “Kemper”, called “Kepro”. The new society's goals were real-estate, tourism, hotels, entertainment, and sports activities. Moreover, Kepro owned the land together with the Barcelona's Municipal Institute for Urban Development (IMPU), bought at a reasonably high price to construct a predominately tertiary centre in an area of more than 34Ha. Nevertheless, as Kepro went bankrupt in 1993, the land was acquired by another American developer (Hines), steering a new kind of development towards a housing project instead of only promoting a tertiary use.

The result of this business-friendly planning, marked by developments as the high rise US style development (McNeill, 2003), has been gradually materializing from the beginning of the 2000s. Eventually, Diagonal Mar district appeared as a mixture of uses: four residential tower blocks with 1634 high-standard housing; two tertiary office towers; 5- and 4-star hotels with 950 rooms; a large-scale shopping centre opened in 2001; and the 143 Ha-Diagonal Mar park within the skyscrapers area (1997–2002, by architects Enric Miralles and



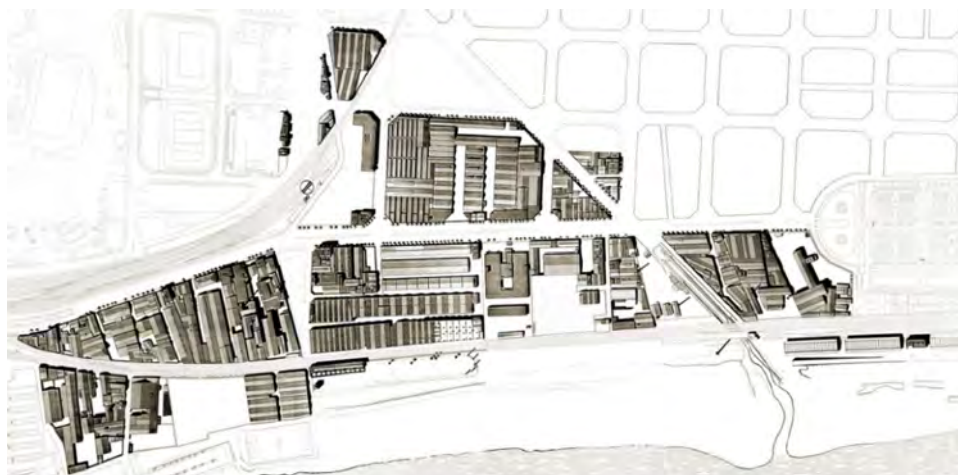


Fig. 6. Icària neighborhood in 1987. Plant of the sector affected by the demolitions.  
Source: <http://bcn87-92.tempusfugitvisual.com/fot-doc/el-derribo-de-fabricas-y-edificios/>.



Fig. 7. Vila Olímpica today.  
Source: Google Maps, 2019.

Benedetta Tagliabue) (see Fig. 10 ). A severe consequence of the Barcelona Model’s commercialization driven by this project was the deprivation of the traditional social urban life and a remarkable change in the urban landscape. In fact, between 2002 and 2016, 24 over-60-

meters-high-rise buildings were realized along Diagonal Avenue from Glòries down to the sea in place of the previous industrial land, with six exceeding 100 m. Today, seven of these 24 buildings are dedicated mainly to offices, five to hotels, and the other twelve to residential use. These data were elaborated by the author of the paper starting from Costa (2004: 165–194), and Delbene (2007), plus a desk research activity on the web and a fieldwork between 2018 and 2019.

Moreover, following the urban operations along Diagonal Avenue, other two great urban projects should be mentioned. They were raised on large former industrial properties on star-system architects bases, changing definitely the historic Poblenou’s character. They are the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures just near Diagonal Mar district and Poblenou’s Central Park located in the intersection between Diagonal Avenue and Pere IV street (since 2012 this street is the object of a specific urban regeneration process, well analyzed by Camerin, 2014).

In the case of the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures, the urban intervention transformed 180Ha of old industrial urban texture as an operation to keep promoting the development of Diagonal Mar’s pattern. This transformation included new eclectic buildings, such as Josep Lluís Mateo-designed Barcelona International Convention Centre alongside the Diagonal Mar Shopping Centre and the Herzog & De Meuron-designed auditorium. They were materialized by the elimination of the relationship between residential and industrial typology and traditional street morphology; an improvement of private mobility over public transportation; the physical and mental isolation; and a



Fig. 8 and 9. . Two views of the Vila Olímpica today..  
On the left, the “Can Folch” factory’s chimney between the 1992 Olympic Games’ symbols, the Arts Hotel and Mapfre Tower. On the right, the view of the chimney located in the new urban morphology. Source: photos by F. Camerin, 2019.

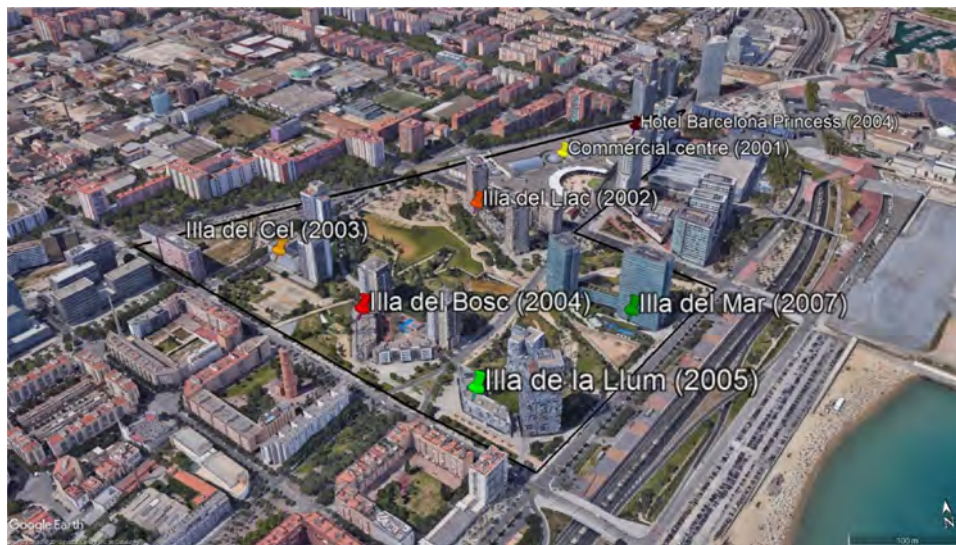


Fig. 10. Image of the Diagonal Mar's 3D-high-rise buildings (and year of construction).  
Source: F. Camerin's elaboration starting from Google Earth 2019.

marginalization phenomena (Delgado, 2004). This operation, as pointed out by several authors, among them, Montaner, Álvarez and Muxí, (2004), ended the Model Barcelona. The second case regards the creation of an urban park planned within the 22@ Plan in place of the typical Poble Nou's environment characterized by the coexistence between industrial and residential blocks. The park was contemplated as a singular piece of the old 6,65Ha industrial spaces aimed to solve the intersection between Diagonal Avenue and Pere IV street (Clarós i Ferret, 2008). It was built in the period 2006–2008 following the 2001 international idea competition won by Jean Nouvel's team, totalling almost 20 million euros. After its inauguration, the park revealed itself as a fragmented project which suffered various changes during its execution due to the problematic interaction among economic, social, and political agents. Today a number of issues, such as the tricky interaction with the users, traffic congestion, and the citizen's mobilization for the maintenance of abandoned Oliva Artés Factory as a testimony of the neighborhood's industrial identity (Heras Lasanta, 2013), are far from being solved.

## 6. Discussion

In the frame of the materialization-dismantling-regeneration analysis (Table 2) of large industrial and railway properties in Poble Nou, the first phase points out how the neighborhood evolved towards a social space, claiming for working and political rights for proper integration with Fordist industrial mode of production. This neighborhood presents itself as the real materialization of the industrial city in the first and second phase of industrialization (Arxiu Històric del Poble Nou, 1996). A precise and long-lasting strategy has gradually emptied these strong economic, social, political, and urban characteristics to let mechanisms of neoliberal urbanism take over. This second phase started from an urban renewal project promoted by private interest, and it has been strongly supported by the political arena both during the dictatorship and democratic period. The management of the Poble Nou industrial district was tackled in order to extract value by real estate development. This neighborhood was assumed as a piece of urban land to be transformed in a new central zone of the city with high-value of "differential ground rent" (de Solà-Morales et al., 1974). In fact, this centrality has materialized as a result of the process of social appropriation, also due to its historical character. This approach ended in the redevelopment of an area declared as vast great urban void which should be renewed to serve largescale global economies. As a

consequence, large industrial and railway properties ceased to be the proper support of new capitalism's interests in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the third phase has been characterized by urban transformation actions to pursue the creation of quality spatial areas for the international economic competitiveness, often at the expense of public interest and the true needs of local citizens. Nevertheless, the newly built environment was accompanied by the creation of new public spaces of high quality.

The analysis on the city-making process of Poble Nou neighborhood puts into the foreground that the dismantling of existing urban texture by the management of large industrial and railway properties for the construction of Vila Olímpica and Diagonal Mar represented the culminating stage of a process. This change started in the late 1960s with the so-called *Plan de la Ribera*. The historic industrial territory had to be emptied to make Poble Nou's regeneration effective by overthrowing the industrial architecture and informal settlements. Additionally, the actions of the real estate companies created *ad hoc* to proceed with the transformation, such as VOSA and Diagonal Mar (Doncel, 1988: 2), contributed to the dismantling-regeneration processes. In this frame, urban planning tools were used as instruments to let capitalism make higher profit. In this way, the real estate-financial capital is to blame for launching new neighborhoods designed under real estate profitability criteria in order to both supply private high-standing housing and to hinder the urban planning from solving the lack of social housing and equipment. Indeed, the urban transformation supported by capitalism put Barcelona and its metropolitan region in a better place within the European system of global cities (López, 1991: 92).

The economic reactivation of the land clearly motivated the recovery of large industrial and railway properties into commercial, residential, and tertiary use. In fact, Poble Nou had gradually ceased to be profitable for the industrial entrepreneurs and the national railway company. Precisely this is the reason why the neighborhood was the most suitable area to foster a capitalist reappropriation. Its deterioration was the perfect justification for the development of an action to guarantee its regeneration under the "Barcelona Model" evolution. Thus, as demonstrated by the analysis in paragraph 5, the Olympic Village and Diagonal Mar rose from a "sanitizer" spirit to combat the social and urban degradation of the historic industrial settlements. The mega events, such as the 1992 Olympics and the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures acted as a device to serve and enhance Poble Nou's tertiarization (Gastaldi and Camerin, 2018: 203–204). Indeed, investors exploited the benefits of the transformation of the surrounding area not

**Table 2**  
The materialization-emptying-regeneration analysis of Poblenou neighborhood.  
Source: Federico Camerin's elaboration (2019).

Period	Urban planning tools	Historical events	Consequences in urban environment
Materialization	1846-1860 1861-1904 1905-1939 1940-1964 1965-1985	First railway lines construction and first textile industries Textil industry expansion First generation of metallurgical and automobile industries Expansion of the mechanical-metallurgical and automobile industries Law n. 102/1965, from dictatorship to democracy (1975-1978), from Fordist mode of production to globalization 1992 Olympics, 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures	Superposition of two very different frames (agricultural and industrial), consolidation of an industrial-housing mixture, marginalization, and working class claims
Emptying-dismantling	Sub-regional Plan (1953) Ribera Plan (1966-1974) and Plan General Metropolitano de Ordenación Urbana (1976)		Underusing, abandoned, and relocation of industries, degradation of the urban fabric, the decrease of population
Regeneration	1986-today Modification and integration of existing urban planning tools		Developing great urban projects (such as Vila Olímpica and Diagonal Mar)

intending to give the city anything in return. Even if new parks and beaches were created, at that time urban transformation in Poblenou did meet capitalist interests (Delgado, 2007). During the last three decades, Poblenou's transformation was shaped by the implementation of this kind of urban regeneration with the same criteria. Furthermore, rather than design a structure or system that could be transformed and updated to the real needs of the citizens, the management of the industrial heritage occurred as to demolish it and create several iconic, isolated, and singular elements. Despite the discourse of complexity and mixed functions, the result of this dynamic was the appearance of mono-functional areas marked by part-time activity, as well as the privatization of urban public spaces by the intensification of surveillance mechanisms following the new inhabitants' requests (Navas Perrone, 2016: 11).

In this annihilating action of history the old industrial and railway artifacts occupied a great quantity of land once relegated to a state of total obsolescence. This analysis shows that this action converted them, by the preliminary social dispossession they had been subjected to, into the physical base where the new "economic space" had to be settled, also losing their public ownership status. Two main requirements responding to the logic of capitalism have been necessary for the materialization of this action. First, the adaptation, regeneration, and recovery of the existing capitalism-degraded spaces. Second, the implementation of new activities responding to the capital accumulation. These activities responded to the creative city industry and a mix composed by services and industry compatible with the new high-standard housing for the incoming inhabitants.

In light of the consideration of Giuseppe Campos Venuti (1981: 1-5), who claims Spain and Italy are socio-political countries where urban rent has always highly influenced urban transformation more than other European capitalist countries, the discussion focused on recent international studies from comparable Spanish and Italian cities, i.g. Bilbao and Milan. In these countries, speculative and parasitic conceptions have prevailed and forced urban transformations creating areas of new centrality taking advantage of their localization within the city. In both cases, urban planning was used as an "ideological weapon" during the second half of the 20th century (Álvarez Mora, 1999; Oliva, 2002).

As claimed by Plaza (2006), in Bilbao "Guggenheim Museum effects" have generated other urban regeneration processes based on the dispossession of the existing socio-economic environment and urban fabric. Specifically, Vicario and Martinez Monje (2003) demonstrate this dynamic in the Old Quarter known as "Bilbao La Vieja". Plus, the discussion supports the hypothesis that a similar path will take place in the latest Bilbao major megaproject, the 838,781-m<sup>2</sup> Zorrotzaurre Island, aimed at transforming an old industrial peninsula into an "opportunity area" to sell in the real-estate market (Zorrotzaurre Management Commission, 2019). On the other hand, the discussion also refers to Milan. The Italian city took inspiration from Barcelona's urban regeneration (OECD et al., 2006b: 119) to foresee the creation of new global iconic projects, i.g. "CityLife" urban regeneration process with the aim of transforming the old 300,000-m<sup>2</sup> Milan Trade Fair. These types of projects are managed by deregulation in urban planning processes in order to allow the real estate exploitation of former industrial areas (Savini and Aalbers, 2016), thus contributing to the spread of new centralities and the regeneration of entire neighborhoods, proceeding to their gentrification (Armondi, Di Vita, 2017).

To sum up, the discussion argues that in Barcelona, as well as other Western European cities such as Bilbao and Milan, capitalism appropriates urban spaces. This appropriation dispossessed them of their previous characteristics to realize new urban palimpsests referring to the objectives of a few, the richest, to the detriment of others, the poorest. In fact, the fordist large property of soil's condition of capital in land converted them into strategic places suitable to undertake an appropriation-reappropriation of urban land: the aim is to create areas of new centrality. This appropriation is generally carried out according to the

need required by the capital to create new spaces aiming to generate high rent resulting in strengthening the segregated city.

## 7. Conclusions

Understanding the Western European globalized city evolution is a fundamental objective in the field of urban studies to interpret a situation marked by the advance of capitalism, occurring from the last three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, this objectives takes into account its social, economic, and urban effects resulting from urban regeneration interventions. The analysis of Poblenou's evolution made it clear how the urban environment was managed to make profit responding to the demands of capitalism. In fact, in Barcelona, the destruction of the traditional working-class neighborhood, which evolved based on industrial and railway activities, served to make way for speculative redevelopment lead by financial and real-estate capital, plus private's interest retreated from community-oriented planning initiatives.

The lessons that can be learnt from this work are the following.

First, in terms of urban planning, rather than offering a basis for developing a more democratic and inclusive city, the discourse of the Ribera Plan served as an ideological “weapon” for justifying Poblenou's regeneration, materialized since the Vila Olímpica's new building developments. Despite belonging to different political contexts (the Ribera Plan to the dictatorship, and the Model Barcelona to the current democratic period), the growing trend of the Western European's neoliberal urbanism has been legitimized by the public administration. This “weapon” enhances, at the same time, polarization, high-standard new developments, and, in general, privatization within the neighborhood. Simultaneously, it undermines the capacities of public institutions to manage urban transformation processes in ways that serve the public interest. Poblenou has been transformed in a global space within which its economy and urban morphology had to be positioned as attractive locations for devouring capitalism's investments. This trend was confirmed by the progressive and entrepreneurial Barcelona's urban policies within the 22@ plan, in particular, fostering the producer and financial services, high-technology industries, and other advanced forms of revitalized craft production.

Second, as pointed out by the Italian intellectual Pier Paolo Pasolini in the anthropological and futuristic “The form of a city” (by documentatist P. Brunatto, “Io e...” series, RAI – Italian Television, 1974; Brunatto, 1974), if during the dictatorship society and cities have not been completely homologated by the regime, “nowadays [...] the opposite is happening. The regime is a democratic regime, but [...] the power of today<sup>5</sup> is the power of mass consumption society”, which delivers the city to the modern society's market dictatorship. In this framework, what is hard to save is the whole form of the city as demonstrated by this analysis based on the construction-dismantling-regeneration processes that took place in a determined area, Poblenou, but also Barcelona as a whole, the three moments can be meant in the following way as three different real estate processes belonging to the “production of the built environment”. The study of these processes help to well define the city's history and how the long-lasting characters of the city can be completely changed by the interests of the capital. In fact, this analysis allows to understand the city-making process, its “urban history”, as the result of the dialectical encounter between owners and the dispossessed. In other words, between the agents who produce the city to convert it in their “space of social representation”, but also maintain it?, and the latter who really contributed to the creation of its historical value, forced to have a marginal role in the urban transformation process. In this context planning tools, as this study demonstrated, have been used to promote the interests of the dominant class.

<sup>5</sup> That particular historical moment, i.e. the acceleration of the second industrial revolution between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, correspond to the same epoch of Ribera Plan and the proposal by Solà-Morales.

## Acknowledgements

European Joint Doctorate “urbanHIST”. European Union. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 721933.

The contents of this paper were exposed in the international conference “YOUNG URBAN(H)IST CONFERENCE\_8th MEETING OF YOUNG HISTORIANS IN KOŠICE” held in Department of History, Faculty of Arts Pavol Jozef Šafárik University, Košice (Slovak Republic), 01-02/10/2018

## References

- Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1965. Ley 102/1965, de 17 de julio, sobre integración de el puerto de Barcelona del puerto interior de la zona franca de dicha ciudad. Available at: Jefatura del Estado, Madrid, Spain (online). [https://www.boe.es/diario\\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1965-12515](https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-1965-12515).
- Aibar, E., Bijker, W., 1997. Constructing a city: the cerdá plan for the extension of Barcelona. *Sci. Technol. Human Values* 22 (1), 3–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016224399702200101>.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1987. Arees de nova centralitat. Ajuntament de Barcelona. Barcelona (online). Available at: <https://bcnroc.ajuntament.barcelona.cat/jspui/bitstream/11703/101579/1/areenovce.pdf>.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005. Guia de l'Arxiu Municipal del Districte de Sant Martí. Arxiu Municipal i Districte de Sant Martí, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain. pp. 17–26 ISBN: 9788476091630.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2006. Antecedentes. De 1860 a 1960: el Manchester Catalán (online). Available at: <http://www.22barcelona.com/content/view/58/405/lang,es/>.
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018a. El Parc i la Llacuna del Poblenou Sant Martí, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació Oficina Municipal de Dades, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/66\\_MA\\_Parc\\_llacuna\\_2018.pdf](http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/66_MA_Parc_llacuna_2018.pdf).
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018b. La Vila Olímpica del Poblenou Sant Martí, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació Oficina Municipal de Dades, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/67\\_MA\\_Vila\\_olimp\\_2018.pdf](http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/67_MA_Vila_olimp_2018.pdf).
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018c. El Poblenou Sant Martí, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació Oficina Municipal de Dades, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/68\\_MA\\_Poblenou\\_2018.pdf](http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/68_MA_Poblenou_2018.pdf).
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018d. Diagonal Mar i el Front Marítim del Poblenou Sant Martí, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació Oficina Municipal de Dades, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/69\\_MA\\_Diagonal\\_mar\\_2018.pdf](http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/69_MA_Diagonal_mar_2018.pdf).
- Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2018e. Provençals del Poblenou Sant Martí, Gabinet Tècnic de Programació Oficina Municipal de Dades, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/71\\_MA\\_Proven%C3%A7als\\_2018.pdf](http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/castella/documents/barris/71_MA_Proven%C3%A7als_2018.pdf).
- Alberich González, J., Muro Morales, J.I., Roquer Soler, S., 2014. Capitalidad autonómica y proceso de terciarización: el caso de Barcelona. *Estud. Geogr.* 75 (276), 7–46. <https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.201401>.
- Alibes, J.M., et al., 1975. La Barcelona de Porcioles, segunda edición. Editorial Laia, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9788472228658.
- Andreu, M., 2011. Poder, intereses económicos y 'modelo Barcelona'. In: Montaner, J.M., Álvarez, F., Muxí, Z. (Eds.), *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona. 1973–2004*. Ajuntament de Barcelona Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica de la ETSAB-UPC, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9788498503593, pp. 53–56.
- Apur, 1987. L'aménagement de l'Est de Paris, Paris Projet n. 27-28 (online). Available at: Atelier parisien d'urbanisme, Paris, France. <https://www.apur.org/fr/nos-travaux/paris-projet-27-28-amenagement-paris>.
- Aricó, G., Mansilla López, J.A., Stanchieri, M.L., 2016. El legado porciolista. Extracción de rentas, dinastías de poder y desplazamiento de clases populares en las políticas urbanísticas de la Barcelona contemporánea. Artículo n. 3-512, Madrid Spain, pp. 1–22 (online). Available at: Aa. Vv., *Contested City*. Congreso internacional. Eje 3. <http://contested-cities.net/working-papers/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2016/07/WPCC-163512-Aric%C3%B3MansillaStanchieri-LegadoPorciolista.pdf>.
- Armondi, S., Di Vita, S. (Eds.), 2017. *Milan. Productions, Spatial Patterns and Urban Change*. Routledge, London-New York, UK-USA ISBN: 978-1138244795.
- Arranz, M. (Ed.), 1988. *Estudi històric-arquitectònic del sector Avinguda Icària – Passeig Carles I*. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, Vila Olímpica SA 1992. Archivo del Servei d'Arqueologia del Instituto de Cultura, Barcelona, Spain.
- Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, 1996. Nou Viatge a Icària: De les fàbriques a la Vila Olímpica, segona edici. Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, Barcelona, Spain.
- Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, 2001. El Poblenou: més de 150 anys d'història. Barcelona. Arxiu Històric del Poblenou, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9789210193252.
- Camerin, F., 2014. Regional and environmental planning and policy city and environment: planning and policies. Laurea magistrale in city and environment: planning and policies. Hacia una actualización de las políticas urbanas de urban regeneration: patrimonio ordinario y ciudad en Barcelona (Eje cívico y patrimonial Pere IV). Thesis of the Graduate Degree Programme in Urban. Università IUAV di Venezia, presented

- on 24th April 2014 (supervisors: Francesco Musco, Francesc Muñoz Ramírez. Álvarez Mora, A., Camerin, F., 2019. La herencia del urban renewal en los procesos de regeneración urbana: el recorrido Renovación-Regeneración a debate. Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios territoriales 51 (199), 5–26.
- Beauregard, R.A., 1994. Capital switching and the built environment: United States, 1970–89. *Environ. Plan. A* 26 (5), 715–732. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a260715>.
- Bohigas, O., et al., 1986. la Especial d'Ordenació Urbana de la Façana al mar de Barcelona en el sector del Passeig de Carles I i Avinguda d'Icària. Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain.
- Bohigas, Oriol, et al., 1992. The Olympic Village. Barcelona 92: Architecture, Parks, Leisure Port/La Vila Olímpica. Barcelona 92. Arquitectura. Parques. Puerto deportivo. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 978-8425214851.
- Boycoff, J., 2014. Celebration Capitalism and the Olympic Games. London. Routledge, UK ISBN: 978-0415821971.
- Brenner, N., 1998. Global cities, glocal states: global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe. *Rev. Int. Political Econ.* 5 (1), 1–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/096922998347633>.
- Brenner, N., 1999. Globalisation as reterritorialization: the Re-Scaling of urban governance in the European union. *Urban Stud.* 36 (3), 431–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098993466>.
- Brenner, N., Keil, K., 2017. From global cities to globalized urbanization. In: Brenner, N. (Ed.), *Critique of Urbanization: Selected Essays*. Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel, Switzerland, pp. 69–84 ISBN: 9783035610116.
- Brunatto, P., 1974. Io e Pasolini - La forma della città. "Io e..." series, RAI Italian Television. 07/02/1974 (online). Available at: <https://vimeo.com/99520799>.
- Budd, L., 1998. Territorial competition and globalisation: Scylla and Charybdis of European cities. *Urban Stud.* 35 (4), 663–685. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098984691>.
- Caballé, F., 2010. Desaparece el barrio de Icària, nace la Vila Olímpica. *Biblio 3W. Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 15. 895 (9) (online). Available at: <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/b3w-895/b3w-895-9.htm>.
- Calvaresi, C., 1990. La riqualificazione urbana in Spagna: il dinamismo degli enti locali e l'egemonia del piano. Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia. Dipartimento di Analisi economica e sociale del territorio, Venice, Italy.
- Campos Venuti, G., 1981. Urbanismo y austeridad. Siglo XXI de España Editores, Madrid, Spain ISBN: 9788432304071.
- Casellas, A., 2016. Desarrollo urbano, coaliciones de poder y participación ciudadana en Barcelona: una narrativa desde la geografía crítica. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 70, 57–75. <https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2162>.
- Castells, M., 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell, Oxford, USA.
- Cerdà, I., 1855. Plano topográfico, 1855. Plano de los alrededores de la ciudad de Barcelona levantado por orden del Gobierno para la formación del proyecto de ensanche de Barcelona, 1855 (online). Available at: <http://www.anycerda.org/web/es/arxiu-cerda/fitxa/planol-topografic-1855/404>.
- Cerdà, I., 1859b. Ensanche de Barcelona. Plan de los alrededores de la ciudad de Barcelona y del proyecto para su mejora y ampliación (online). Available at: [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plan\\_Cerd%C3%A1#/media/File:PlaCerdà1859b.jpg](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plan_Cerd%C3%A1#/media/File:PlaCerdà1859b.jpg).
- Charney, L., 2012. The real estate development industry. In: Crane, R., Weber, R. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning*. Oxford University Press, New York, USA, pp. 722–738 ISBN: 9780195374995.
- Church, A., 1988. Urban regeneration in London docklands: a five-year policy review. *Environ. Plan. C Gov. Policy* 6 (2), 187–208. <https://doi.org/10.1068/c060187>.
- Choi, K., 2011. Disneyfication and localisation: the cultural globalisation process of Hong Kong Disneyland. *Urban Stud.* 49 (2), 383–397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011402234>.
- del Cerro Santamaría, G. (Ed.), 2013. *Urban Megaprojects: A Worldwide View*. Bingley, Emerald, UK ISBN: 978-1-78190-593-7.
- Ciciotti, E., Perulli, P., Florio, R., 1992. *Quaderno n° 17 - Pianificazione strategica e Giochi Olimpici a Barcellona*. AIM, Milan, Italy.
- Clarós i Ferret, S., 2008. Parc del Centre del Poblenou, una crítica urbanística. *Biblio 3W. Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 13 (805) (online). Available at: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/b3w-805.htm>.
- Clusa, J., 1999. La experiencia olímpica de Barcelona 1986-1992 y las expectativas del Forum 2004. *Ciudades* 5, 85–102. <https://doi.org/10.24197/ciudades.05.1999.85-102>.
- Couch, C., Fraser, C., Percy, S., 2003. *Urban Regeneration in Europe*. Blackwell Publishing Company, Oxford, UK ISBN: 9780632058419.
- Costa, G., 2004. *Barcelona 1992-2004*. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9788425218842.
- Dalmau, M., 2015. Un barri fet a cops de cooperació. El cooperativisme obrer al Poblenou. La Ciutat Invisible Edicions, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9788493833268.
- Delbene, G., 2007. *Barcellona. Trasformazioni contemporanee*. Meltemi, Roma, Italy. ISBN 9788883535420.
- Delgado, M. (Ed.), 2004. La otra cara del Fòrum de les cultures SA. Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona, Spain (online). Available at: [https://sindominio.net/mapas/textos/la\\_otra\\_cara.pdf](https://sindominio.net/mapas/textos/la_otra_cara.pdf).
- Delgado, M., 2007. La ciudad mentirosa. Fraude y miseria del 'Modelo Barcelona'. Catarata, Madrid, Spain ISBN: 9788490972946.
- Doncel, M.C., 1988. Historia y vida cotidiana. El barrio Icària, futura Villa Olímpica (online). Available at: <http://periferiasurbanas.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/DONCEL-1988-HistoriaVidaCotidianasBarriocaria.pdf>.
- Duran i Farrell, P., 2015. Barcelona. Una ciutat que no pot seguir vivint d'esquena al mar Barcelona. ALAS Costa/Padró, Barcelona, Spain.
- Edwards, M., Campkin, B., Arbaci, S., 2009. Exploring roles and relationships in the production of the built environment. *CEBE Trans.* 6 (1), 38–61. <https://doi.org/10.11120/tran.2009.06010038>.
- Evans, G., 2009. Creative cities, creative spaces and urban policy. *Urban Stud.* 46 (5–6), 1003–1040. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009103853>.
- Ewers, M.C., 2007. Migrants, markets and multinationals: competition among world cities for the highly skilled. *GeoJournal* 68 (2–3), 119–130. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-007-9077-9>.
- Fabris, L.M.F., 1999. *Il Verde postindustriale*. Liguori, Naples, Italy. ISBN: 88-207-2867-2.
- Fossas, J., Luque, J.C., 2015. Poblenou desaparegut. Efadós i Ajuntament de Barcelona. El Papiol, Spain ISBN: 978-84-15232-89-6.
- Friedmann, J., 1986. The world city hypothesis. *Dev. Change* 17 (1), 69–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.1986.tb00231.x>.
- Gainza, X., 2016. Culture-led neighbourhood transformations beyond the revitalisation/gentrification dichotomy. *Urban Stud.* 54 (4), 953–970. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016630507>.
- Gastaldi, F., Camerin, F., 2018. Transformaciones urbanas y grandes eventos en Italia y España a partir de 1992. *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios territoriales* 50 (196), 201–216.
- Geddes, P., 1915. *Cities in Evolution*. Williams and Norgate, London, UK.
- Grau, R., López, M., 1973. Vells suburbis fora ciutat. Sant Martí, un Manchester local. Serra d'Or 169, 635–641. (online). Available at: [http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/serra\\_dor/obra-visor/any-xv-num-169-octubre-1973/html/6010cd1c-8a34-4ba3-bb4d-edcd5d2d2010.22.html](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/serra_dor/obra-visor/any-xv-num-169-octubre-1973/html/6010cd1c-8a34-4ba3-bb4d-edcd5d2d2010.22.html).
- Grebler, L., 1962. Urban renewal in European countries. *J. Am. Inst. Plann.* 28 (4), 229–238. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366208979449>.
- Grubbauer, M., 2014. Architecture, economic imaginaries and urban politics: the office tower as socially classifying device. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.* 38 (1), 336–359.
- Hall, P., 1966. *The World Cities*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, UK.
- Harvey, D., 1985. *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore ISBN: 9780801831447.
- Harvey, D., 1989. From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation of urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler* 71 (1), 3–17. (online). Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/490503.pdf>.
- Harvey, D., 2003. The right to the city. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.* 27 (4), 939–941. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x>.
- Heras Lasanta, M., 2013. El papel del usuario en el diseño urbano: el Parc central de Poblenou. A: Seminario Internacional de Investigación en Urbanismo. V Seminario Internacional de Investigación en Urbanismo, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, junio 2013. DUOT, Barcelona, Spain. pp. 681–697. (online). Available at: [https://upcommons.upc.edu/bitstream/handle/2099/14180/048\\_Heras%20%20Maria.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://upcommons.upc.edu/bitstream/handle/2099/14180/048_Heras%20%20Maria.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).
- Illas, E., 2012. *Thinking Barcelona: Ideologies of a Global City*. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, UK ISBN: 978-1846318320.
- Juliana, E., 1990. Los 2.000 pisos de la Villa Olímpica de Barcelona salen a la venta en 20 millones. *El País*, 26th April 1990. (online). Available at: [https://elpais.com/diario/1990/04/26/espana/641080823\\_850215.html](https://elpais.com/diario/1990/04/26/espana/641080823_850215.html).
- Lees, L., Phillips, M., 2018. *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham and Northampton, UK ISBN: 9781785361739.
- Katz, C., 2001. Vagabond capitalism and the necessity of social reproduction. *Antipode* 33 (4), 709–728. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00207>.
- La Vanguardia Española, 1966. El Plan de la Ribera, en marcha. 28th July (online). Available at: <http://hemeroteca-paginas.lavanguardia.com/LVE07/HEM/1966/07/28/LVG19660728-025.pdf>.
- Marrero, I., 2003. ¿Del Manchester catalán al Soho Barcelonés? La renovación del barrio del Poble Nou en Barcelona y la cuestión de la vivienda. *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 7 (137), 146. (online). Available at: [http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-146\(137\).htm](http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-146(137).htm).
- López, P., 1991. 1992, objectiu de tots? Ciutat-empresa i dualitat social a la Barcelona Olímpica. *Revista Catalana de Geografia* 6 (15), 90–99. (online). Available at: <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/RCG/article/view/119520/158278>.
- Low, N., 1995. Regulation theory, global competition among cities and capital embeddedness. *Urban Policy Res.* 13 (4), 205–222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111149508551618>.
- Llorens, M., 2013. Viaje a Icària. Barcelona 1987-1992 transformación urbanística (online). Available at: <http://bcn87-92.tempusfugitvisual.com/fot-doc/>.
- Martorell, J., Bohigas, M., 1988. Transformación de un frente marítimo: Barcelona, La Vila Olímpica 1992. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 9788425213687.
- McNeill, D., 2003. Mapping the European left: the barcelona model. *Antipode* 35 (1), 74–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00303>.
- McNeill, D., 2017. *Global Cities and Urban Theory*. Sage, London, UK ISBN: 9781446267073.
- Montaner, J.M., 2011a. Barcelona, de modelo urbano a marca registrada. In: Montaner, J.M., Álvarez, F., Muxí, Z. (Eds.), *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona. 1973-2004*. Ajuntament de Barcelona Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica de la ETSAB-UPC, Barcelona, Spain, pp. 217–224 ISBN: 9788498503593.
- Montaner, J.M., Álvarez, F., Muxí, Z., 2011b. *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona. 1973-2004*. Ajuntament de Barcelona Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica de la ETSAB-UPC, Barcelona, Spain. ISBN: 9788498503593.
- Muxí, Z., 2011. La Villa Olímpica de Barcelona o el Plan de la Ribera revisitado. In: Montaner, J.M., Álvarez, F., Muxí, Z. (Eds.), *Archivo crítico modelo Barcelona. 1973-2004*. Ajuntament de Barcelona Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica de la ETSAB-UPC, Barcelona, Spain, pp. 76–98 ISBN: 9788498503593.
- Nadal, J., Tafunell, X., 1992. *Sant Martí de Provençals, pulmó industrial de Barcelona*

- (1847-1992). Columna, Barcelona, Spain. ISBN: 8478093923. .
- Nagel, M., Satoh, K., 2019. Protesting iconic megaprojects. A discourse network analysis of the evolution of the conflict over Stuttgart 21. *Urban Stud.* 56 (8), 1681–1700. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018775903>.
- Navas Perrone, M.G., 2016. La vocación utópica del urbanismo: el caso de la Vila Olímpica de Barcelona. XIV Coloquio Internacional de Geocrítica 'Las utopías y la construcción de la sociedad del futuro Barcelona. May 2016 (online). Available at: pp. 2–7. [http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/xiv\\_navasperrone.pdf](http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/xiv_navasperrone.pdf).
- Navas Perrone, M.G., 2017. Crónicas de una degeneración inducida: de la aniquilación del barrio Icària a la securización de la Vila Olímpica de Barcelona. *Arquitectonics. Mind, Land & Society* 30, 75–98. (online). Available at: <https://upcommons.upc.edu/handle/2117/102940>.
- OECD Territorial Reviews, 2006a. *Competitive Cities in the Global Economy*. OECD Publishing, Paris, France ISBN: 9264027092.
- OECD, 2006b. *OECD Territorial Reviews*. OECD Publishing, Paris, France, Milan, Italy ISBN: 9264028919.
- Oliva, F., 2002. *L'urbanistica di Milano. Quel che resta dei piani urbanistici nella crescita e nella trasformazione della città*, Hoepli, Milan, Italy. ISBN: 978-8820330729. .
- Pacione, M., 1991. Development pressure and the production of the built environment in the urban fringe. *Scott. Geogr. Mag.* 107 (3), 162–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00369229118736825>.
- Padilla Llano, S.E., 2016. La reforma de la Avenida Diagonal. ¿Éxito o fracaso de un proceso participativo? On the W@terfront 46, 7–84. (online). Available at: <http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/waterfront/article/download/18677/21182>.
- Patterson, M., 2012. The role of the public institution in iconic architectural development. *Urban Stud.* 49 (15), 3289–3305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098012443862>.
- Plaza, B., 2006. The return on investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao. *Int. J. Urban Reg. Res.* 30 (2), 452–467. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00672.x>.
- Porter, L., Shaw, K., 2009. *London. Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies*. Routledge, UK ISBN: 9780415456821.
- Ponzini, D., Nastasi, M., 2011. *STARCHITECTURE: Scenes, Actors and Spectacles in Contemporary Cities*. Allemandi, Turin, Italy ISBN: 9788842219897.
- Rogers, D., 2016. *The Geopolitics of Real Estate: Reconfiguring Property, Capital and Rights*. Rowman & Littlefield, London-New York, UK-USA ISBN: 9781783483327.
- Rossi, U., 2010. The capitalist city. In: In: Hutchison, R. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, vol 1. Sage, Los Angeles, USA, pp. 109–112 ISBN: 9781412914321.
- Sassen, S., 1991. *The Global City*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, USA ISBN: 0691078661.
- Savini, F., Aalbers, M.B., 2016. The de-contextualisation of land use planning through financialisation: urban redevelopment in Milan. *Eur. Urban Reg. Stud.* 23 (4), 878–894. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776415585887>.
- Sklair, L., 2017. *The Icon Project: Architecture, Cities and Capitalist Globalization*. Oxford University Press, New York, USA ISBN: 9780190464189.
- de Solà-Morales, M., et al., 1974. *Barcelona: remodelación capitalista o desarrollo urbano en el sector de La Ribera oriental*. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, Spain ISBN: 842520819X.
- Stein, S., 2019. *Capital City. Gentrification and the real estate state*. Verso, London-New York, UK-US ISBN: 9781786636393.
- Tatjer, M., 2006. La industria en Barcelona (1832-1992). Factores de localización y transformación en las áreas fabriles: del centro histórico a la región metropolitana. *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 10, 218 (46) (online). Available at: <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/sn/sn-218-46.htm>.
- Teixidor, C., Tarragó, M., Bra, L., 1972. Barcelona 1953-1971. Introducción a una visión del desarrollo urbanístico". *Cuad. Arquít. Urban.* 87, 67–99. (online). Available at: <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/CuadernosArquitecturaUrbanismo/article/download/111079/170108>.
- Tejero, E., Encinas, R., 1997. *El Poblenou. Un barri a les portes del segle XXI. Associació de veïns del Poblenou*, Barcelona, Spain.
- Tello, R., Martínez, S., Boba, A., 2000. Nuevos espacios terciarios de Barcelona: adaptaciones a una economía globalizada. *Estudios Geográficos* 61 (238), 145–168. <https://doi.org/10.3989/egeogr.2000.i238.524>.
- Vicario, L., Martínez Monje, P.M., 2003. Another "Guggenheim Effect"? The generation of a potentially gentrifiable neighbourhood in Bilbao. *Urban Stud.* 40 (12), 2383–2400. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136129>.
- Zorrotzaurre Management Commission, 2019. *Zorrotzaurre. An Island for Living, Working and Pleasure* (online). Available at: Zorrotzaurre Management Commission, Bilbao, Spain. <http://www.zorrotzaurre.com/en/the-zorrotzaurre-urban-regeneration-project/>.
- Zukin, S., 1998. Urban lifestyles: diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption. *Urban Stud.* 35 (5–6), 825–839. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098984574>.